LABOUR MONTHLY

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Editor: R. Palme Dutt

In the Balance ★ R.P.D.

Canada and the U.S. Python ★ Tim Buck

Steps Toward Unity ★ George Matthews

War or Peace in South-East Asia ★ Gordon Schaffer

The World of Mr. Attlee ★ D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

June, 1954
One shilling and sixpence

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TO GET THERE FIRST

THE beaches were crowded those June days ten years ago, all along the coast of Normandy. Amid the tense anxiety, there was a universal deep conviction that now all the armies of liberation were fully deployed, at last the end was in sight, for the Nazi military machine to be destroyed and the thing finished with. And the men on the beaches and the people at home were one with Molotov when he said: *'We cannot end the war with the military defeat of Germany alone. It must end with the moral and political annihilation of fascism.'* As the climax neared, the people knew well who could be trusted to finish fascism; and in their bones they sensed that there were sinister forces in the West surely striving to preserve it. Hence that odd little exclamation you could hear everywhere: 'If only the Russians get there first—!' Remember? Today the sinister forces are out in the open, recruiting leaders to do their Fifth Column work in the movement itself, releasing war crime generals, racing to resurrect and reconstruct the Nazi armies which British boys died on the beaches to destroy. The moral and political creeds of fascism are fostered. Under the cover of cries of 'Forgive your enemies!' they are cutting the throats of our friends. The defensive dykes are being deliberately broken down to let in the flood of war. It is a race against time to stop it: they can be stopped only if the peoples 'get there first'.

Where Else?

THE alarm needs sounding full blast. The fight in the Labour movement against German rearmament is of greatest importance. But that is why every effort is made to crush and hush it up. *L.M.* readers last month were given a factual picture in *Labour Parties Protest.* It was far from complete, but—where else could you find it? As a Taunton reader said in asking us to send a copy to an L.P. friend: 'It's an extraordinary thing, but the Party rank and file just don't know what's happening in the D.L.P.s—not by consulting the official publications. Transport House does not want publicity given to such views.' There you have it: *L.M.* will continue to do its duty to the working class, and in doing so will find its support from people like the Scottish L.P. reader who writes: *'At any time* I will try to assist you in your struggle for a good left-wing policy'. Indeed, every article in the May number came in for high praise: *The Bomb* and *World Security at Geneva* were 'masterly'; and *Problems of Organised Labour in the U.S.* was 'outstanding'. A Canadian reader (of the 1921 vintage) adds: 'Just now we progressives in Canada are fighting McCarthyism, so articles on these lines are very timely'. He will find a full-scale picture of Yankee attack on Canadian national interests on p. 253. British readers can note this blueprint of how national independence is endangered, and what it means; choke

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Notes of the Month

In the Balance

'We should establish with Russia links which will convince the Russian people and the Soviet Government that we wish them peace, happiness and ever-expanding prosperity and enrichment of life in their mighty land, and that we long to see them play a proud and splendid part in the guidance of the human race.'

Sir WINSTON CHURCHILL at the Albert Hall, April 30, 1954.

'The cornerstone of post-war European security was laid with the conclusion of the British-Soviet Treaty of 1942 and the Franco-Soviet Treaty of 1944. Both were sealed with the blood of the finest sons of the Soviet, British and French peoples.'

G. M. MALENKOV, Speech to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., April 26, 1954.

DIEN BIEN PHU is the writing on the wall for the Western aggressors. It will rank alongside Valmy and Yorktown with the great battles of freedom in the most just wars of national liberation. It has opened new horizons in the international situation. It has thrown into a temporary disarray of confusion, con-

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tradiction, denunciation of their satellites and mutual recrimination the expansionists of the American war camp. It has released the national upsurge of popular anger in France, already infuriated by Nazi rearmament, American domination and the hated war in Vietnam, such as may yet sweep away the despised pensioner Cabinets of national betrayal. It has strengthened the stand of Nehru and the peoples of Southern Asia for peace. It has strengthened the fight for peace at Geneva, with the Soviet Union no longer in isolation, as at Berlin, but with the combined stand of the Soviet Union, China, the Korean Democratic Republic and the Vietnam Democratic Republic transforming what American policy had ordained beforehand to be an empty fiasco into a first beginning of negotiation. Above all, it has revealed the highest point of divergence of Anglo-American interests, and opened a profound crisis of British policy, which is reflected in the crisis of policy of the Labour Party. The counter-offensive is now in full swing. Dulles in Washington, Eden and Bidault at Geneva, Laniel in Paris, and Morrison in London are working overtime to rebuild the shaken war front. But the supreme moment of opportunity in the fight for peace is now here, to change the whole character of international relations; and the present political situation in Britain, including the crisis of British Labour policy, is at the very heart of this moment of opportunity. Dien Bien Phu was a great victory for peace.

Turning the Tables

The significance of Dien Bien Phu goes far beyond the immediate circumstances of the battle. Vanished are the days of the old type of 'minor' colonial war, conducted on the familiar buccaneering maxim of 'Western culture':

Whatever happens, we have got
The Gatling gun, and they have not.

For the first time in a full-scale major battle in a colonial war (compared by the French commander with the intensity of Verdun) the former subject colonial people has inflicted military defeat on the former ruling Western imperialist power, although the latter was lavishly financed, equipped, armed and aided by the strongest and wealthiest power of modern imperialism. As the nearest approach to a parallel, the battle of Adowa has been cited, when the Abyssinians inflicted defeat on the Italian armies in 1896; but Abyssinia had not been a subject colony. The French bandits had conducted their original wars of aggression against the peoples of Vietnam,

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Laos and Cambodia in the later nineteenth century to conquer them and annex them as a colony; then had shamefully surrendered them to the Japanese bandits; the peoples had organised their own war of independence against Japan and won their freedom and established their Democratic Republic by the beginning of 1945; the French Government after the war had formally recognised the national independence of the Vietnam Democratic Republic under the democratically elected Government of Ho Chi Minh; and then had treacherously opened the new war of aggression for re-conquest. At the end of eight years of aggressive war with all their available forces and limitless expenditure they have reached such a debacle that they are now clamouring for the combined forces of all the imperialist powers to be rushed in to crush the Democratic Republic. This is a unique situation without parallel in previous colonial history, pointing to the bankruptcy of imperialist colonial rule everywhere, and inspiring with hope and confidence every colonial and subject people in the world.

A Landmark

Nothing was lacking to signalise this historical landmark. The German mercenaries of George III under Lord Cornwallis were paralleled by the Africa Corps and ex-Nazi legionnaires under General Navarre to maintain the Emperor Bao Dai; for the French people, wiser in this matter than the British, would not allow their conscript sons to be dragged into this shameful colonial war. As with Yorktown, so with Dien Bien Phu, the military fiasco was a political exposure of a rotten regime. The French invaders had every superiority in equipment, finance, arms, communications, air and sea control, save in one thing only were they wholly lacking—the support of the people. The very fact that all their military calculations had to be based on how many troops could be transported across the oceans and parachuted in demonstrated that they were fighting as invaders in a hostile land. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were fighting in their own land, for their own independence and national existence, under their tried and trusted national leaders with records of 20 and 30 years of indomitable patriotic struggle. Against such national heroes the French had to dig out the discredited and despised puppet Bao Dai, originally a French puppet, then a Japanese puppet under Japanese rule, then with the victory of the Vietnam Democratic Republic permitted to become a minor adherent of the National Government of Ho Chi

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Minh, then an exiled pensioner, and then dug out by the French as the only mascot for their war of conquest. Thus the ignominious Bao Dai, the former collaborator of Japanese fascism, and the ex-Nazi foreign legionnaires, became the fitting symbols of the 'supreme outpost of Western civilisation and democracy', as proclaimed by the Eisenhowers, Nixons and Dulles.

History Does Not Repeat Itself

But the significance of Dien Bien Phu goes even further if we see it in relation to the entire strategy of the planners for a third world war. The second world war of fascist aggression was preceded by a series of local wars of preliminary fascist aggression, which, in proportion as they were successful and were not checked and defeated, broadened out into the second world war. Japan invaded Manchuria and China. Italy invaded Abyssinia. Germany and Italy invaded Spain. In all these wars the peoples fought against the invaders and aggressors with tenacious heroism. But all these wars ended for the time in defeat. Japan held Manchuria and vast territories of China. Italy made Abyssinia a colony. Franco enslaved Spain. Fascism won its temporary triumphs. Today the strategy of the new camp of aggression, which has taken over the role of the Anti-Comintern Axis, is equally marked by preliminary local wars of aggression. But this time the outcome is proving different.

Checks to Aggression

The United States poured out six billion dollars to subjugate China through Chiang Kai-shek. But it was People's China that conquered. Baulked in China, the United States militarists and expansionists let loose the Rhee offensive in Korea to make Korea an American colony and jumping-off ground for renewed war on China. To make certain of success, they dragged in the forces of all the remaining imperialist powers, now reduced to satellite dependence on their American paymasters. But in the face of this unparalleled assault the Korean Democratic Republic emerged unbroken ('the first war the United States has fought and not won', in the words of the American magazine *Life*), and its representatives are negotiating peace at Geneva. Against their will the arrogant American bullies are compelled to meet and confer with the representatives of People's China, of People's Korea, of People's Vietnam. Aggression once again faces the prospect of defeat in South-East

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Asia. It is indeed a different world from that which slid down the fascist path into the second world war. The preliminary encounters have demonstrated that this time the united strength of the peoples can defeat the plans for a third world war.

Cracks in the War Front

In the face of this situation the imperialists are compelled to ponder their choice. Either to plunge deeper into the desperate and losing gamble. Or to draw the practical conclusions and make peace. As these alternatives open out, cracks begin to appear in the war front. Geneva is no longer Berlin. At Berlin the three Western Powers had been drilled and disciplined at the prior Bermuda Conference, and by the daily morning instructions from the American preceptor, to maintain a monotonously immobile front of paralysed negation. The only chink in the armour to let in one ray of positive achievement, thanks to the patient and tireless efforts of the Soviet Foreign Minister, was the agreement to hold the Five Power Conference on Korea and Indo-China at Geneva (which Dulles hastened to explain to American audiences would not be a Five Power Conference, but only a Conference including the Five Powers). But the chink had never been intended to let in daylight. Dulles went about loudly proclaiming in advance that Geneva would prove a fiasco, on the basis of which the Western Powers could go forward with the plans for new intensified military measures in Eastern Asia, just as they had calculated to use Berlin as the formal excuse for going ahead with Nazi rearmament. However, practice did not work out according to the plan. The Geneva Conference met at the very height of the battle of Dien Bien Phu, when Britain had just refused to jump at once to the American command and undertake immediate military intervention. Thus the division of the Western powers was out in the open at the very moment when the Conference met.

Dulles Departs to his Tent

It had been the grand plan of the aggressors, following Berlin and in preparation for Geneva, to make the seizure of Dien Bien Phu, in the heart of the free territory of Vietnam, the strongpoint of aggression and the centre of the Navarre offensive to 'liquidate Communism in Indo-China' on the eve of Geneva. Events turned out otherwise. The intended strongpoint of aggression became the beleaguered fortress. Dulles, Eisenhower, Nixon and Radford

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sought hastily to organise combined military action. Dulles flew to London and Paris. Radford flew to London. But the ground was not prepared, even in the United States. The Korea trick could not be so easily repeated. Even the brandishing of the hydrogen bomb produced the opposite effect to the intended intimidation. In a series of daily incoherent speeches and statements Eisenhower, Dulles, Nixon and Radford poured out the most bloodcurdling threats of impending massive military action; but the language was so vague and contradictory as to give rise inevitably to the suspicion of bluff. Bidault, whether under direct American inspiration in order to try out the ground, or stung by the ceaseless charges of French military incompetence and the mounting opposition to this policy in France, proceeded in effect to call the bluff by demanding immediate military reinforcements from Britain and the United States. Eden, who had involved himself in a half-promise to Dulles (countersigned by Attlee and repudiated by Bevan) was hauled back by Churchill to London for a special Cabinet with the Service Chiefs. British popular opposition was inescapable, as indeed, the evidence pointed to overwhelming popular opposition also in the United States. Britain refused, and thereby became the alibi for the China Lobby to cover up the bankruptcy of its own policy, and the main target of chauvinist denunciation by the fire-eaters in the United States. It was at this moment of tension that the Geneva Conference met, and was confronted with the moderate and reasonable peace proposals from the Korean Democratic Republic and the Vietnam Democratic Republic. Dulles stalked off in dudgeon to Washington. Molotov, Chou En-lai and Pham Van Dong remained in Geneva with Eden and Bidault.

Warmakers' Fury

The fury of the American war camp knew no bounds. Britain was accused of a 'Far Eastern Munich' by that curious inversion of language which treats every refusal to surrender to the aggressive demands of the anti-Soviet anti-communist war camp as a 'Munich'.

> Senator Knowland, the Republican leader of the Senate, said he was prepared to write off Britain as a total loss and accused Britain and France of getting ready to negotiate a Far Eastern Munich at Geneva.
>
> (*Manchester Guardian*, May 5.)

> Senator Smathers, a Democrat from Florida, said that the crisis in Indo-China had shown that neither Britain nor France was any longer a reliable ally in the fight against Communism.
>
> (*The Times*, May 11.)

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The collapse of American world leadership became the universal theme. 'A major defeat for American diplomacy' was the verdict of the *Washington Post* on the first week of the Geneva Conference, while the *Washington Star* Geneva correspondent wrote of 'the most disastrous weeks in the history of American diplomacy'.

> In the space of less than two years we have witnessed the decline of American leadership of the free world forces. It is now at the lowest point since the day the United States entered World War Two.
>
> (Senator Kefauver, *The Times*, May 11.)

> The collapse of American leadership has already cost the United States a heavy loss of influence in Europe, and will surely cost us even an heavier if not complete loss of face in Asia.
>
> (Senator Gillette, *The Times*, May 7.)

British anger against the clumsy bankruptcy of American policy was no less pronounced, if more guarded in expression in upper official circles. All this mutual recrimination, lamented the primly disapproving *Manchester Guardian*, is 'purest gold to Moscow'.

Munich?

This conventional loose talk of 'Munich' is worth a note for the benefit of the younger generation, lest the sheer repetition of a lie wins the same currency as Goebbels' 'Iron Curtain' (illustrated in the welcome to the *Comédie Française* in Moscow, and the ban on Ulanova and the Moscow Ballet in Paris). What was Munich? Munich was the planned connivance of Chamberlain with the aggression of the anti-Soviet anti-communist crusade of Hitler for the invasion and destruction of the national independence of Czechoslovakia. This policy, which was intended to turn the Nazi offensive East for the destruction of the Soviet Union, brought Britain to the edge of destruction; and Britain was only eventually saved by the alliance with the Soviet Union. All those who applauded Munich then have returned to their vomit today, to applaud the same anti-Soviet anti-communist policy now conducted under the leadership of the United States, with even more disastrous results to British national interests. These old Munichites now have the impudence—or, as they no doubt themselves believe, the cunning—to denounce any opposition to a Hitlerite anti-Soviet anti-communist crusade for a third world war for the destruction of communism as 'Munich'. On the contrary. Fulton was a Munich policy. Bevin pursued a Munich policy. Rearming Nazism is a Munich policy. Letting Britain be dragged into the war of American aggression in Korea was a Munich policy. But the initial re-

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fusal to let Britain be dragged behind the American aims of military intervention against the Vietnam people was not Munich. It was the opposite of Munich. If maintained, it would represent the first step to Britain's independence and to the defeat of the plans of the new Axis for a third world war.

Lesson of 1938

If a real parallel from the events of 1938 were to be sought to this initial setback to the Dulles plan for military intervention in South-East Asia, the parallel should be drawn, not with the autumn of 1938, but with the spring. For it was in the spring of 1938 that Hitler had massed his troops for the assault on Czechoslovakia, and then found himself faced for the first time with united resistance from the potential peace front, from Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and France together. In face of this setback, Hitler had to retreat and call off his orders for the offensive. His fury knew no bounds. The strength of the united peace front, which could have prevented Hitler's war, had been demonstrated. It was then that the dirty undermining work began from the side of the Chamberlain Cabinet to sap the defences and smooth the way for Hitler. Lord Runciman was sent to Czechoslovakia to hob-nob with the Sudeten Hitlerites and prepare his Report to publicise their 'case' against the Czechoslovak Democratic Government. The infamous *Times* editorial came out with its demand to partition Czechoslovakia for the aggrandisement of Hitler. It was during these six months that Munich was prepared. Munich was only the culmination. This is the real lesson for today. The initial setback to Dulles has demonstrated the strength of the peace forces to check the plans of aggression. But the counter-offensive is now in full swing. Eisenhower, Dulles and Radford have reaffirmed their aims leading to military intervention in South-East Asia. The secret staff talks and diplomatic negotiations of the imperialist powers are proceeding alongside the discussion of peace at Geneva. Now is the time to be on guard against a new Munich.

Britain's Crisis of Policy

Why did the British Government at the end of April resist the American pressure for military intervention in Indo-China? There is no doubt of the main answer to this question, alongside the variety of factors involved. Popular opposition was overwhelming from the moment that Eden had made his statement admitting his agree-

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ment with Dulles to discuss a South-East Asia Pact on the eve of Geneva. It was expressed equally by Bevan's repudiation of Attlee on the floor of the House of Commons, by Pollitt's statement at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party, and by every Easter conference of trade union and co-operative organisations. At the same time there were many further military and political factors involved. As every Service chief has emphasised, in opposing any reduction of the call-up, Britain has already stretched its military forces to the limit, in Malaya, Kenya, Suez, Hong Kong, etc., additional to the commitments in the guarantee on E.D.C., and has no available further forces for new adventures. The strong stand of opposition to any military measures from the side of India, sustained successfully by Nehru's leadership at the Colombo Conference of five Southern Asian countries, despite the dubious role of Pakistan and Ceylon, had to be taken into consideration by Britain. The conflict of British and American interests in the Far East, as in the Middle East, and on economic questions has continued to sharpen. A point had been reached when Britain had to choose between a costly and disastrous military adventure in the wake of American policy or a first beginning of resistance. This was the crucial new point reached in the international situation. It is the sequel to this, whether it is followed up or gives way to new capitulation, that is now the decisive question.

Britain's Hour

There is no doubt that even this limited and qualified and possibly temporary resistance of Britain to American pressure on an immediate war issue, and public assertion of the right to an independent policy, had the most conspicuous effect in immediately raising Britain's diplomatic standing and authority, which had fallen to zero in the period of complete subserviency. The same Conservative press which had sunk to the lowest depths of bootlicking to the supposed American omnipotence now began to boast gleefully of Britain's new world leadership, in contrast to the decline of American prestige. Thereby was demonstrated anew what had already been shown in an initial form in the response to the Churchill speech of May 11 last year, the effects of which had been allowed to disappear in the ensuing months of passivity and the sorry record of Bermuda and Berlin: that all the cards would be in the hands of a British Government which would be prepared to take a genuinely independent line for peace and to work with all the Governments of

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Europe and Asia which would gladly co-operate in such an initiative. But this objective has still to be achieved. The still continuing basic weakness and danger of Britain's position arises from the fact that, despite the limited moment of resistance on one issue (already thrown into question by the subsequent negotiations), there is no evidence yet of the decisive change of policy which is equally indispensable for Britain and for France.

Straws in the Wind

That Sir Winston Churchill was conscious of the manœuvring possibilities in the situation was evident from his further actions following the special Cabinet of April 25. It had already been reported that on March 19 Eisenhower had sent a telegram to Churchill in which 'he advised the British Government to be more cautious in attacking the restrictions on East-West trade' and that 'apparently Sir Winston remained comparatively unmoved by this appeal' (*Manchester Guardian,* March 29). Churchill now took the occasion to announce, in the midst of the crisis over South-East Asia, that Britain would no longer restrict exports of rubber to the Soviet Union, although still maintaining the embargo in relation to China. And on April 30, five days after the special Cabinet, at the very moment when American denunciations of Britain's 'Munich' were roaring across the Atlantic, Churchill made his significant Albert Hall speech, in which he spoke first of friendship with the Soviet Union—not merely with 'the Russian people', in his usual phrase, but specifically with 'the Soviet Government', expressing the hope 'to see them play a proud and splendid part in the guidance of the human race'; second, of friendship with France; and third, of friendship with the United States. This speech, equally in its content and in its timing, was an unmistakable diplomatic act which won its warm response from Soviet expression. As an accompanying symptom may be noted the decision of the International Olympic Committee, by a vote of 23 to 21, on the basis of British support, and against American opposition, to admit China, with the consequent withdrawal of the Chiang Kai-shek clique maintained by the United States in Formosa.

The Battle Opens

These straws in the wind are important indications of the new opportunities which arise from the present situation. But the real battle is only beginning. Nothing has yet been settled. The counter-

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offensive of the American war camp and its supporters is now in full swing. The temporary phrases of partial retreat from Eisenhower (the *'modus vivendi'* speech of April 29, suggesting a choice between the 'unattainable' and the 'inacceptable' by 'working out a practical way of getting along, as in Berlin and Germany'), and of Dulles (the May 11 speech suggesting that 'South-East Asia could be held even if the whole of Indo-China fell . . . Laos and Cambodia, though important, were not essential') have since been repudiated by their authors. Eden at Geneva, while maintaining close contact with Nehru to seek to exercise pressure on the Colombo powers to enter some kind of South-East Asia Pact, has simultaneously backed the most fantastically extreme and obstructive demands of Bidault. Australia and Canada publicly voice the American demand for immediate military negotiations and a pact. In the British parliament the Premier's answers have so far continued evasive to conceal the real character of the negotiations taking place.

'A White Man's Seato'

In the ruling circles of the imperialist powers the differences on the proposed South-East Asia Pact, although revealing the sharpness of Anglo-American divisions, are differences of timing and of form rather than of substance. The *Economist* on May 15 cynically expressed the advantages of a pact in order to overcome popular resistance to military intervention:

> A pact has this advantage in a foreign minister's eyes: that in a crisis public opinion faces the question: Do we or do we not honour our word? It is not necessary for parliament and people to consider, more or less at pistol point, whether their vital interests are involved or not.

But then follows the dilemma of the imperialists in South-East Asia. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation at any rate includes a number of countries bordering the Atlantic. But the proposed 'South-East Asia Treaty Organisation' would be all too obviously based on the imperialist colonial powers excluding Asia:

> Is any such thing possible in South-East Asia? Between the non-Asian nations, perhaps; that is to say, between the United States, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand. . . . But which Asian government would join fully and resolutely in such an arrangement, in the kind of Seato that has been discussed? Siam, almost certainly. The Philippines perhaps. . . . To put the dilemma in its crudest terms: a white man's Seato would be an effective fighting body, but it would not be an effective political body.

In other words, the question of a South-East Asia Pact is the question of how to maintain aggression *against* the Asian peoples. On this question all the imperialist powers are in principle united,

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whether Britain in Malaya, France in Indo-China or the United States over the whole region, whatever the contradictions on tactics and over particular interests. For this reason it would be blind folly to expect the contradictions of the imperialist powers, however important in increasing the opportunities for the popular fight, to serve to defeat the menace of a new Korean war in South-East Asia. This objective can only be achieved by the strength of the popular peace fight in the countries concerned, especially in Britain and France, alongside the peace proposals and just defensive struggle of the peoples of South-East Asia.

The Key in Labour's Hands

It is in this situation that the key is in the hands of British Labour. The present battle over Labour policy is no internal question, still less a question of personal rivalries. It is the heart of the British political situation, and decisive for the future of Britain and of peace. The counter-offensive of Morrison, Attlee and Gaitskell is an integral part of the counter-offensive of Dulles, Eisenhower and Radford. The issues are the same. Nazi rearmament. Military intervention in South-East Asia. Denunciation of every progressive and peace expression as Communism. But this narrow clique of the pro-American war camp in the British Labour movement has never been so discredited. Every conference has revealed the gulf between them and the membership. Millions of votes have been recorded against them. No wonder they fear a Special Conference, which would indisputably compel a reversal of the support of Nazi re-armament and a pledge against military intervention in South Asia. The fight is on, here as in France. The tide is moving. Let us respond to the glorious victories of Dien Bien Phu and the national liberation movements in Asia with parallel victories of the Left in the British Labour movement, and the fight for peace can be won.

May 17, 1954. R.P.D.

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CANADA AND THE U.S. PYTHON

TIM BUCK

THE basic problems confronting the Labour movement in Canada today stem directly from the integration of the entire country in the insane drive of United States imperialism to dominate the world. The national interests of Canada and her people, the character and purpose of production, trade, foreign relationships, the character and purpose of economic development, all are subordinated to the imperialists' drive to war. What is at stake for Labour, and all except those who have become agents or tools of United States imperialism, is nothing less than the issue of who is to own and control Canada; her people or the United States. To solve its other, and immediately more evident, problems, Labour must enter and lead the struggle for Canada's survival as an independent state.

The foregoing is not to minimise the seriousness of the problems of a specifically trade union character that confront the Labour movement in Canada. Wages have lagged behind rising prices. The exploitation of labour has been intensified at an unprecedented rate, with the result that wages now represent a smaller percentage of the national income than was the case even in the 'hungry thirties'. The disparity with regard to both prices and productivity is particularly marked in French Canada, where wages are from 5 to 7 per cent. lower than the national average. Of more than three and a half million wage workers, only one and a quarter million are organised. Employers and the federal government, aided by certain right-wing trade union officials are engaged in a systematic drive to restrict the rights of the trade union movement, including the vital right to strike, and to picket, and the right of organised workers freely to elect officers of their choice. The legal process of 'certification', hailed at the end of the war as a guarantee that 'the boss' would be compelled to recognise and deal with the union of his employees' choice and no other, is being transformed into a means by which workers are forced into unions acceptable to the bosses and the government. 'Decertification' is a new one in the arsenal of anti-working class weapons, by which the capitalist government destroys Canadian unions to make way for unions more to the liking

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of the Yankee Overlords.* All those problems are now being aggravated by the maturing elements of an acute economic crisis.

The U.S. Crisis in Canada

The developing elements of economic crisis exemplify to a marked degree the inseparable relationship between the immediate economic problems of the Labour movement and the problem of Canada's independence. The crisis is directly the result of the operation of the inherent laws of motion of capitalist economy but the contradictions of which it is an expression have been intensified to an extreme degree by the present government's anti-Canadian policy of making the country a dependent satellite of the United States. At the behest of the United States government, Canadian economy as a whole has been distorted, making it increasingly dependent upon United States preparations for war. Canada's overseas trade has been restricted and the character of her exports changed; from a large proportion of finished manufactured products going to a wide diversity of markets to an overwhelming preponderance of raw materials and dependence upon one market—the U.S.

Aided by those changes, the dominant monopolists in the United States are literally exporting part of their economic crisis to Canada. They are reducing operations in their Canadian plants in efforts to maintain operations in the United States. They are dumping huge volumes of their surplus manufactured products on the Canadian market. They are utilising their 'mutual aid' treaties in a number of countries to seize overseas markets that were previously served by Canada. They are obstructing, and so far have succeeded in preventing, the carrying through of several great projects that are needed in Canada, such as the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway. As the crisis in the United States deepens, they will make drastic cuts in their shipments of industrial raw materials with shattering consequences for Canadian economy as a whole.

The trend in Canadian economy is indicated clearly by the following facts. There has been a steady decline in the level of economic activity since June, 1953. Steel production declined by 15 per cent., there has been a sharp decline in base metals production, particularly lead and zinc, the price of copper has declined, there is a steady decline in the manufacturing industries. In spite of an unprecedented expansion of credit, including consumer credit, stocks

*The most glaring example was the 'Decertification', in fact the violent smashing of the Canadian Seamen's Union at the behest of the United States' government, and its replacement, through open scabbery, by seamen from the United States, 'organised' in the 'Seafarers International Union' of the American Federation of Labour. Many other examples could be quoted.

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of finished products in manufacturers warehouses are at an all-time high. The textile, agricultural machinery and lumbering industries and sections of the clothing, electrical appliance and base metal mining industries, are in profound crisis. In spite of enormous expenditure upon armaments and unprecedented expansion of consumer credit, Canadian industry is sliding into a morass of relative overproduction. The National Employment Service reported on March 1, 559,000 unplaced applicants for employment.

The situation of the farmers is even worse than in industry. On March 1, 1954, unsold stocks of wheat in Canada totalled more than six hundred million bushels—equivalent to two average crops. On the Prairies, farmers still have three hundred million bushels of wheat on their farms, most of it piled up in the fields, because all storage facilities in the country are plugged full; right down to the ocean ports. The situation with oats and barley is similar, while the prices for beef cattle on March 1 were only half of what they were in June, 1953. With varying degrees of severity all branches of Canadian agriculture are beset by the acute market crisis.

It should be added that the crisis is the culmination of a period during which the annual income earned by all engaged in agriculture has steadily become a smaller and smaller percentage of the national income as a whole and very much smaller per capita than the national average. Hundreds of thousands of farmers have literally been driven off the land. Those who stayed on the farms have made desperate efforts to meet the changed conditions by mechanising their operations to the limits of their possibilities as individuals. Most of them are now, to quote their own phrase: 'farming for the agricultural machinery corporations and the banks'. But, in spite of all their efforts, the relative deterioration of their economic position has continued. In 1952 the aggregate farm population was 20 per cent. of the total population of Canada, but its aggregate income was only 10 per cent. of the personal income of the people as a whole.

In the light of the foregoing it is not surprising that, continuously since November, 1953, the big business interests have betrayed growing fear about the economic prospect by their sudden curtailments of announced plans for expanded operations. There has been a slump in contracts for industrial construction, engineering construction, and machine building. The effect of this curtailment can only intensify and speed the maturing of the crisis. It reveals the government's official assurance, that the mass unemployment is

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purely seasonal and will disappear with the coming of spring, as criminal cynicism.

The Betrayal of Canada

The policy by which the present Liberal government, headed by the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent, has made it possible for the U.S. monopolists to export their crisis to Canada and intensify in Canada all the contradictions inherent in capitalist economy, is described by Prime Minister St. Laurent as 'Integration'. In fact it is nothing of the sort. It is a one-sided policy of subordinating national interests to the aim of making Canada completely complementary to the United States. In the given conditions that policy could only destroy Canada's independence and reduce her to a dependency of the United States. It is worthy of note that some capitalist interests, including one of the banks of the 'big four', are calling attention to the above fact now, after United States domination has been made a fact. Three months ago, the Bank of Commerce warned Canadians against the consequences of 'integration' in the following words:

> We could hardly get into a position where the United States was almost our sole market and sole supplier and retain indefinitely the substance of our independence. . . . If we are to avoid eventual *de facto* absorption we need a reasonable balance of economic relationship with and in other groups. (Bank of Commerce Monthly Letter, March, 1954.)

If the management of the Bank of Commerce had been seriously concerned about 'the substance of our independence' that warning and more would have been issued, with action to make it effective, when the main line of the whole cunning scheme of 'integration' was smuggled into operation in 1947, disguised as temporary measures for currency control, behind the back of the people. At that time the Communists stood absolutely alone in opposition to and exposure of the traitorous plot. We warned the people then that the alleged currency control included long term measures designed to change the direction of Canada's foreign trade and the character of her economy. Condemning the cynical bartering away of Canada's independence for quick and immediate maximum profits, we forecast then, a rude awakening for some capitalist interests when they realised that 'integration' meant transfer of control of the Canadian market to the United States, as well as ownership of her natural resources. Several statements similar to the one quoted above, all by big business interests squirming under the effects of 'integration', indicate that, thanks to Yankee arrogance, the awakening has started much sooner than we had anticipated.

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A Raw Material Hinterland for the U.S.

More than such warnings are needed now however. The situation that the Bank of Commerce so unctuously says must not be allowed, has already been created. Sixty per cent. of all Canada's exports now go to the United States and more than 70 per cent. of her imports come from there. The exports are mainly raw materials, the imports are mainly finished manufactures. The change that has been brought about during the past six years is still gaining momentum. The plan of the power-mad imperialists in the United States and their political agents in Canada is indicated clearly in their Paley Report; namely, to treat the natural resources of Canada as part of the raw material reserve of U.S. industry in their plans for imperialist war. The plan was re-stated in more brazen terms by the financial editor of the *Magazine of Wall Street*. His formula was crudely frank. 'Textiles now are manufactured in Canada at far higher cost than in the Carolinas and copper is mined in some of our Western States at a far higher cost than in Canada'. Without mentioning the fact that the main known copper resources of Canada are controlled by United States interests, some of them being developed with the help of huge direct loans from the U.S. government, he urges that a direct arrangement be made under which, in return for the U.S. taking its copper and other scarce industrial raw materials from Canada,* Canadians will buy their textiles, automobiles and other manufactured products from the United States. To achieve that objective in the shortest time possible he advocates 'completely free trade between Canada and the United States plus a co-ordinated tariff against imports from other countries'. He admitted that such an arrangement would force the shutting down of the greater part of Canada's manufacturing industries but dismissed that problem with an airy remark that the United States government 'might have to set up economic umbrellas' during the period in which the masses of Canadian workers coped with, to quote his term, 'the re-adjustment'. He rejected the idea that they should be permitted free entry into the United States.

Any who might be inclined to dismiss the perspective outlined by the financial editor of the *Magazine of Wall Street* as ranting, or mere sensationalism, would be well advised to note the very close correspondence between his thesis and the actual trend of developments. Ninety-two per cent. of the nickel produced in the capitalist part of the world, 74 per cent. of its asbestos, more than 25 per cent.

*From mines, forests and wells that are owned by United States monopolies.

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of its aluminium, its uranium and its wood pulp, are produced in Canada; all under United States control through outright U.S. ownership or large-scale U.S. participation. In the case of uranium, U.S. control is made watertight by the Canadian government's regulation placing control of all uranium produced in the hands of a 'National Board', the majority of whose members have extremely intimate ties with the United States monopolies. Canada has enormous deposits of rich iron ore (more than a billion tons proven), copper (present production 14 per cent. of capitalist world total), lead, zinc, titanium, some modest deposits of tungsten, thorium, cobalt and tin. As yet unmeasured petroleum resources have been proved throughout a two thousand mile long semi-circle from the Manitoba-United States border up to the Mackenzie River valley and the Arctic. It is freely asserted that there is more petroleum in that semi-circle than all the original resources in the United States. Fifty-six per cent. of all the investment in the petroleum industry; wells, refineries, oil leases, and petro-chemical enterprises, are directly owned in the United States. U.S. capital is dominant in a large proportion of the so-called 'mixed companies' also. In the mining industry the proportions are 46 per cent. direct U.S. control with an equally important U.S. influence in the 'mixed companies'. In mining, as in petroleum, the most significant fact is that the decisive monopolies, which determine the policies of the industry as a whole, are under firm United States control. No asbestos mine can operate successfully in Canada today unless it serves the interests of American Asbestos (the new name for the Johns Manville Corporation of the United States). International Nickel exercises the same role in the nickel extraction industry, and almost the same in copper production. A group of great U.S. corporations control all the iron ore mining operations. In varying degrees the same situation prevails in all branches of raw material production.

United States investments now are directed systematically to securing outright ownership of Canada's resources of industrial raw materials, always on terms designed to prevent the establishment of industries to process them in Canada. For Canadians the two most humiliating features of this process are (*a*) that Canadian capitalists as a class, through their political representatives, actually chose this path in their huckstering greed to get maximum profits in the shortest time by 'selling the country as it stands' instead of developing its priceless resources; and (*b*) that the U.S. monopolists are 'buying up' Canada, ownership of her resources and control of her future, very largely with the profits they are reaping from their

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present exploitation of Canadians. For example, during the six years 1946-52, the total of U.S. investments was increased by somewhat more than two billion dollars and more than one billion of it was re-investment of part of their profits by United States owned enterprises in Canada. Thus, part of the enormous profits that they are making by their exploitation of Canadians are systematically reinvested; not to expand Canadian manufacturing, but to prevent its expansion.* Little wonder that *Business Week*, one of the most influential organs of U.S. monopoly-capitalism, boasted during February, that the United States will dominate Canada completely in the near future, that Canadian exports to the British market in any substantial volume will cease altogether within the next 20 years, that within the same period Canadian production will be so completely subordinated to United States' needs that 90 per cent. of all Canadian exports will be industrial raw materials produced for the United States and 90 per cent. of all Canadian workers will be working for U.S. employers. That is, in fact, the political aim that the present Prime Minister of Canada set for himself in 1947, the aim of reducing Canada to a dependency of the United States—a northern Puerto Rico. It is late in the day for the Bank of Commerce to announce that we could not afford to permit it; it has happened.

'The Crown' for the United States

More and more Canadians now realise the sinister purpose of 'Integration'. Opposition is obstructed by the St. Laurent technique of securing Parliamentary consent to constitutional rulings that the British North America Act (1867) does not confer upon the Parliament competence to govern, that the government does not derive its power from the electorate but from the Crown, that the government's 'responsibility' to Parliament is no more than its ability to command a majority in the House of Commons. Behind that emasculation of 'Responsible Government' there has been introduced a whole system of government by Order-in-Council, with the ruling that four members of the Cabinet can decide that an Order-in-Council may be secret. Those Orders-in-Council that are reported to the House of Commons are tabled months after they have become effective (usually long after it is too late to do anything about them) in batches of as many as five hundred at a time. Agreements, of vital significance to Canada, are entered into with

*U.S. investments already exceed $8 billions.

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the United States Government and its war department and the decisive terms are not announced to the Canadian people and, unless it has been in secret session, not to the House of Commons either. The Criminal Code is revised, the fundamental principle of English Common Law is discarded, to satisfy demands of the United States government for laws that correspond with its conception of 'security' for U.S. interests in Canada. The revisions include direct infringements upon the right to strike and to picket. They include also a new law prescribing a penalty of 14 years' imprisonment for any Canadian who by word or deed undermines the discipline or morale of the forces of another power, *sic*, legally in Canada.* It is beginning to dawn upon millions of Canadians that the United States military occupation of our country is not at all to defend Canada as the government pretends, but to protect U.S. interests in Canada from the rising national consciousness of the Canadian people.

It is for Imperialist War

That the motivation and overriding purpose of this complete betrayal of Canada is preparation for imperialist war can be proved conclusively by a multitude of examples and quotations, proceeding continuously from the speech in which the Prime Minister first gave official public voice to the U.S. desire for the anti-Soviet war alliance which became N.A.T.O. One of the several examples which illustrates the thinly veiled official acknowledgment† was provided by Mr. Lester B. Pearson on February 20. In the course of an address to a United States audience he, in his capacity as Minister for External Affairs, pledged Canada to 'stand shoulder to shoulder' and to 'accept the leadership of our great partner the United States' in world affairs. Despite the fact that several bourgeois commentators condemned his statement as a 'public renunciation of Canadian sovereignty' and some timid questions concerning it were asked in the House of Commons, it was neither repudiated nor modified. Canada, a modern monopoly-capitalist state, with a very highly monopolised economy, a narrow oligarchy of monopolists and their political representatives in unchallenged control of the government and the state machinery, has treacherously been made completely subservient to a foreign power by her government, behind the backs of her people.

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*It is of no small significance that several of the acts or intentions against the person of the Monarch have been removed from the category of capital offences and relegated to the same level as sneering at a drunken United States trooper.

†Their only excuse before the people of Canada.

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Against U.S. Domination

National resentment against the betrayal is rising in all parts of the country. National consciousness is crystallising in opposition to Yankee domination. Country-wide outbursts against Dulles' threat of 'instant massive retaliation', against the H Bomb tests, and against a plan to bring Senator McCarthy to Canada, were significantly each made the occasion for direct anti-United States propaganda by some of the most influential capitalist newspapers. Farmers, fishermen, fruit growers and poultrymen realise that the main cause of their plight is the government's refusal, under U.S. pressure, to accept pounds sterling in payment for Canadian products exported to Britain or other parts of the Commonwealth. University graduates resent the fact that replies to applications for employment on the exploitation of Canada's resources are so frequently a curt statement that 'This company employs only United States citizens.' Business interests are protesting against government policies which make the Canadian market a 'sitting duck' for U.S. dumping. Millions of Canadians realise that the present mass unemployment is caused, mainly, by the fact that Canada's policies are determined by the interests of the United States. Trade unions are formulating 'anti-depression' programmes and, limited as they are to immediate sectional interests, all of them include demands for action of one form or another against the sacrifice of Canada's interests to the United States.

An incident which illustrates the strait-jacket in which Canadian members of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. unions operate in this connection took place in the late summer of 1953 with the renewed agitation in Canada for the building of the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway from the Atlantic to the head of the Great Lakes. The coal miners of Nova Scotia, organised in District 26 of the United Mineworkers need the waterway so Nova Scotia coal can compete with U.S. coal in central Canada. They agitated strongly for it. But, the General Secretary of the United Mineworkers appeared before the U.S. Congressional Committee in Washington and added his voice to that of the U.S. railway and other monopoly interests in opposition to the project, on the ground that it would tend to reduce U.S. exports of coal to Canada. That illustrates, also, the urgent need for the trade unions in Canada to formulate their own policies and become in fact Canadian.

The Labor-Progressive Party welcomes and will support all actions, even very limited ones, that are directed to combat

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approaching crisis or even to mitigate its disastrous effects upon the workers and small farmers. But, the L.P.P. is fighting against the dangerous illusion that economic action alone is enough. What is needed is all-sided action of a national-democratic character to regain Canada's sovereign independence. To put an end to the domination of the country by U.S. imperialism requires the defeat of those monopoly-capitalist circles in Canada that have become junior partners of U.S. imperialism. Thus, to beat the threat of depression, the working-class movement must unite all the democratic patriotic forces of the country; for Peace, to outlaw the H-bomb and other weapons of mass extermination, to defeat the drive to foster McCarthyism (U.S. fascism) in Canada, and for Canadian Independence. Democratic Canadians themselves must re-establish the supremacy of Parliament, democratising in the process, to stop United States domination, and restore sovereign control of their country and its destiny to the people of the two nations of Canada. In this struggle, in the conditions and relationships of today, love of country and militant defence of democracy merge in true patriotism which puts Canada first in the formulation of her national policies.

Such are the basic problems confronting the Labour movement in Canada. It is clear that Labour will be able to defeat the offensive against its hard won rights and solve its economic problems only as and to the extent that it meets the challenge, responds to the need of the nation and joins in the building of a broad national-democratic front to Stop U.S. Domination. It will be stopped only as the working class assumes the leadership of the nation by taking up the struggle to establish, firmly, Canadian Independence. That is the sole path by which the Canadian Labour movement itself will be served.

It is, also, the path by which Canadians may make their most valuable contribution to the cause of world peace and democratic progress. In the struggle to elect a People's Majority to Parliament to carry through the tasks indicated here, the working-class movement will transform itself, from a movement of protest against the evil consequences of capitalism into the leader of united people's action to abolish those evils for all time.

CONTENTS OF MAY ISSUE

MAY: *The Bomb*, R.P.D.; *Problems of Organised Labour in the U.S.*, Wm. Z. Foster; *World Security at Geneva*, Quæstor; *Labour Parties Protest Against Rearming Germany*. BOOK REVIEWS: *Selected Works, Vol. I* (Mao Tse-tung); *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire* (Mao Tse-tung); *Who Controls West German Industry?* (L.R.D.); *West Germany Prepares War of Revenge* (Committee for German Unity); reviewed by B. Farrington, I. Montagu, M.M.

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STEPS TOWARD UNITY

GEORGE MATTHEWS

THE Lancashire Labour Councillor who, on reading Harry Pollitt's report to the 23rd National Congress of the Communist Party, described it as 'one of the historic documents of the Labour movement', spoke no more than the truth. It was an historic report to an historic Congress held at an historic moment in the life of the British Labour movement.

The importance of the Congress was that its discussions and decisions showed the way to resolve the present crisis of policy in the Labour movement, suggested a programme around which a fighting unity could be established, and clearly answered the questions now being asked by millions of Labour Party members, trade unionists and co-operators. Its significance was not lost on the right-wing leaders of the Labour movement. Their official organ, the *Daily Herald*, showed its awareness of the effect the Congress would have on its readers, were they allowed to hear of it, by omitting from its columns any mention whatever of it. Labour Party members who read both papers will not fail to draw the contrast between the *Daily Herald's* treatment of the Communist Party Congress, and the *Daily Worker's* exceptionally full coverage of every Labour Party Conference. It was, however, considered safe to allow the select and exclusive circle of readers of the *Economist* to hear that the Congress had been held. As the self-constituted adviser to Conservative Central Office and Transport House on how to become more right-wing than Sir Winston Churchill or Mr. Attlee, the *Economist* felt it to be its duty to issue a solemn warning on the successes achieved by the policy of the Communist Party, and on the increased support it is likely to win in the future. The concern of the *Daily Herald* and the *Economist* is understandable. For the most striking feature of the situation in the Labour movement is the extreme sharpness of the differentiation between the right-wing leaders and the ordinary members. Has a leadership ever been so completely opposed to the openly-expressed wishes of the rank-and-file? Whatever aspect of policy is taken, the gulf is there.

On Indo-China: Mr. Attlee makes a statement in Parliament in effect backing Mr. Eden's agreement to consider proposals for a military pact directed against the people of South-East Asia. The feeling against it is so immediate and overwhelming in its force that, reflecting this upsurge of opinion, Mr. Bevan resigns from the Parliamentary Committee.

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Children in the British Colonies

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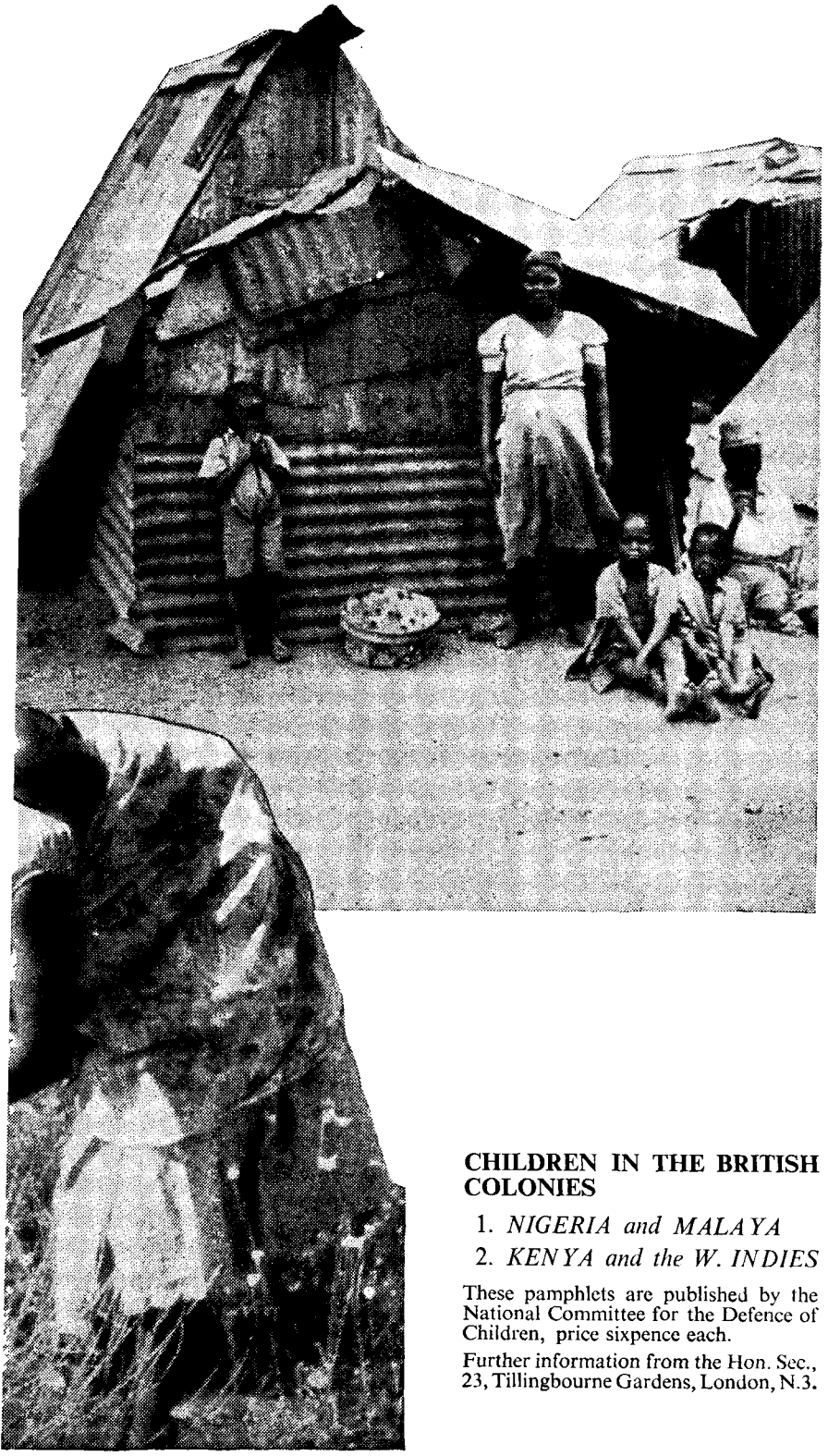

CHILDREN IN THE BRITISH COLONIES

1. *NIGERIA and MALAYA*
2. *KENYA and the W. INDIES*

These pamphlets are published by the National Committee for the Defence of Children, price sixpence each.

Further information from the Hon. Sec., 23, Tillingbourne Gardens, London, N.3.

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On German rearmament: The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party supports the rearming of German militarism, and by every form of pressure secures a tiny majority for its policy in the Parliamentary Labour Party. How far this attitude is removed from the wishes of the members is shown by the scores of protest resolutions passed by local Labour Parties, by the hundreds of resolutions from trade union branches and co-operative organisations, by the mass demand for a Special Labour Party Conference on the question, and above all by the Easter Conferences: the Co-operative party, 5,092,000 to 2,410,000 against German rearmament; the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, only two out of more than 850 delegates support West German rearmament, despite the personal intervention in the debate of the Chairman of the Labour Party in support of the European Defence Community; the Amalgamated Engineering Union National Committee, unanimous against German rearmament; the Scottish Trades Union Congress, also unanimous; the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen, only 3 out of 200 voted for German rearmament.

On the Hydrogen Bomb: Mr. Attlee declares in the Hydrogen bomb debate in Parliament: 'I have not a great deal of faith in the banning of any particular weapon.' His lack of faith is not shared by his members, who on this question also are almost unanimous in calling for the banning of hydrogen and atom bombs.

On the domestic issues: The rank-and-file want a vigorous fight against rent increases, for higher wages and pensions, and for an extension of nationalisation. The official leadership refuses to conduct any real fight against Tory policy on these issues, but instead devotes all its efforts to holding back the movement of the workers.

The present position in the Labour movement was epitomised in London's May Day celebrations. The right-wing Labour leaders prevented a united demonstration. The great Communist Party march and demonstration on May Day itself was therefore followed on May 2 by the London Labour Party march and demonstration. But whereas Harry Pollitt was listened to with close attention and obvious and often enthusiastic approval by the vast crowd of Labour Party members, trade unionists, co-operators and Communists which gathered on May 1 in Hyde Park, Herbert Morrison could hardly be heard the next day because of the opposition of his own Labour Party members to what he was saying. Here is a graphic demonstration of the fact that the achievement of unity does not depend on the Communist Party changing its policy, but on Mr. Morrison and his right-wing friends changing theirs.

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But do these expressions, in conferences and elsewhere, of the desire for a change in policy lead to the 'democratic socialists' of the Attlee-Morrison type yielding to the democratically-expressed wishes of their members? On the contrary, they have launched a most determined and dangerous right-wing counter-offensive. Their main weapons in this counter-offensive are not arguments on policy. They have found by experience that their arguments in support, say, of German rearmament have ceased to make much impression. They therefore resort to three principal allegations, which they hope will have an effect, if repeated often and loudly enough, in hampering the fight of the Left. They say first, that the conflict is one of personalities; second, that it is the Left which is disrupting the Labour movement and preventing unity; and third, that the policy of the Left weakens Labour's chance of electoral success.

The first of these allegations is a barefaced attempt to divert attention from the real issues of policy which are at the root of the problems of the Labour Party. Mr. Bevan is said to be ambitious. No doubt he is, but are we asked to believe that Mr. Morrison is *not* ambitious? This would call for the sarcasm of an Antony:

But Brutus says, he was ambitious,
And Brutus is an honourable man.

To ask the Labour movement to decide its attitude to German rearmament, the hydrogen bomb, Indo-China, and the fight against the Tories on the basis of the relative degrees of ambitiousness of individuals is to descend to the lowest levels of childishness.

As for the allegation that it is the Left which is splitting the movement, this has been the stock-in-trade of the right-wing for scores of years. It was never true, but it is more demonstrably false today than ever before. Who is preventing unity? Those who insist on imposing on the movement a policy supported by only two delegates at the U.S.D.A.W. Conference—or those who fight for the policy supported by the remaining 848 delegates? The lesson of the Easter Conferences is that it is the right-wing who are disrupting unity, by their insistence on a policy which is repudiated by the great majority of their members. Even the *Manchester Guardian* had to recognise this, when it said on April 21, referring to German rearmament and what would happen at a Labour Party Conference:

> The official leadership cannot assume that endorsement of its policy will be automatically guaranteed by a combination of block votes. Indeed, if party unity were considered to be the prime good, unity might be better created by a reversal of the official policy, for it certainly will not be achieved by insistence on it.

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Unity can only be achieved on the basis of a policy corresponding to the interests of the working people. It will never be achieved on the basis of the pro-capitalist, imperialist policy of the right-wing, for this will always and inevitably be resisted by the workers with whose interests it conflicts.

If the policy advocated by Harry Pollitt's report to the Communist Party Congress is examined it will be seen that it does suggest a programme on which unity could be achieved. Higher wages and pensions, improved social services, and an extension of nationalisation; national independence of Britain and all colonial peoples and the development of East-West trade; peace, through a settlement in Indo-China and Korea, the admission of China to the United Nations, a peaceful, united, democratic Germany, a European Security Treaty, prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and an all-round reduction of arms—is there any proposal here on which unity could not be achieved? These suggestions in fact arise out of the living experience of the movement, and the decisions already taken by conference after conference during last year and this.

The allegation that the fight of the Left is 'losing Labour votes' is the most brazen lie of all. The facts show that until March of this year Labour, as a result of the disastrous policy of the right-wing leaders, was indeed losing electoral support, in spite of the appalling record of the Tory Government. The by-elections showed low total polls, a rise in the proportion of the Tory votes cast, and a decline in the proportion of the Labour votes. In Ilford North Labour's proportion of the votes went down by 5.7 per cent.; in Harwich by .2 per cent., in Hull by 3.7 per cent., in Bournemouth West by 4.2 per cent. and in Arundel by 1.1 per cent. But then came the Left fight against German rearmament, with the narrow vote in the Parliamentary Labour Party; the Left fight on the hydrogen bomb issue, with Churchill's exhibition in Parliament making even Attlee look militant by comparison; the Left fight on Indo-China, and Bevan's resignation; the Communist Party campaign in the Motherwell by-election, combining the fight on all these issues with the campaign for higher wages and better social services. The result was an increase of 3.6 per cent. in Labour's proportion of the votes in the East Edinburgh by-election on April 8. In Motherwell and Wishaw the poll on April 14 was the highest in any election since 1951, and if Labour and Communist votes are taken together, the proportion of the anti-Tory vote went up by 3.5 per cent. as compared with the 1951 result.

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These figures are decisive and incontrovertible proof that the stronger the fight of the Left for a new policy, the greater the support received from the electors. Such results make clear that if the whole Labour movement were won for united action in support of the policy adopted by the Communist Party Congress, it could make it impossible for the Tory Government to continue in office, could force a General Election, and inflict an overwhelming defeat on the Tory Party. This is why it is of such great importance that the right-wing counter-offensive should be met and thrown back. There is not the slightest doubt that this can be done. The desire for a change in policy is so deep, so widespread, so powerful, that it is the simple truth to say that today only one thing prevents such a change being won—disunity on the Left. The challenge of the right-wing should evoke a united response from all the forces of the Left. Past differences, thoughts of personal advancement or careers, disagreements on minor matters should not be allowed to stand in the way of such united action. We are all in the shadow of the hydrogen bomb. The times are too serious, the issues at stake too great, for us to allow sectarian or selfish attitudes to divide us any longer. Not only parliamentary action is called for, but also a mighty united campaign throughout the country, and especially in the great industrial centres of Britain. The full power of the trade unions needs to be exerted in this campaign, in order to end the present betrayal by the right-wing leaders of all the principles upon which the British trade union movement was built.

In this campaign the Communist Party has an indispensable part to play. Without it, indeed, the campaign cannot be successful. Hence the timely statement at the Communist Congress by Harry Pollitt:

> There will never be a fundamental change in the policy of the Labour Party unless the change in policy is brought about in absolutely indestructible association with the Communist Party. The sooner that is understood, the better for all concerned.

The last Labour Party Conference already showed the development of the alliance that can force a change in policy—the fighting alliance between the majority of Constituency Labour Parties and a number of important Trade Unions. Can anyone deny the role which the Communist Party played in bringing about that significant advance? Without the work of the Communists in the unions, would it have taken place? Without the constant, unceasing and often pioneering fight of the Communist Party and the *Daily Worker* for progressive policies, would the left movement in the Labour Party have reached its present level?

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To ask these questions is to answer them. But the conclusion needs to be drawn. The conclusion is that the bans and proscriptions which attempt to prevent Labour Party and Communist Party members working together for the aims which they have in common should now be swept away. They will not disappear automatically. Indeed, the greater the trend towards unity, the more desperately will the right-wing leaders attempt to maintain the divisions.

A further conclusion also follows, and is reinforced by all the past history of the Labour movement recalled by Harry Pollitt in his report. The strengthening of the Communist Party itself is today urgently necessary in the interests of the whole Labour movement. 'The Communist Party,' said Harry Pollitt, 'is, always has been, and always will be, an integral part of the British Labour movement. It arose out of the needs of the British working class, out of the needs of the British Labour movement. It would never have come into being if the British working class, its creator, had not required it.' It is required more than ever now. This is why the building of the Communist Party was placed sharply, clearly and publicly before the whole movement at the Congress. The *Economist* and the enemies of the working class may draw what comfort they can from the attention devoted by the Communist Party to the problem of its growth. Communists have never hesitated to expose and examine weaknesses, in the knowledge that this is the first step which any serious working-class Party must take towards overcoming them. They openly raise this problem precisely because it is not the narrow concern of the Communist Party, but is of concern to all who have the future of the Labour movement and the British people at heart. Stagnation in the growth of the Communist Party hinders the full development of the Left as a whole.

The building of the Communist Party, the winning of new members for it from amongst the present active, militant, fighting forces in the Labour movement, is the guarantee not only of success in the immediate urgent battles, but of final victory over capitalism and the advance to Socialism. The first signs of a new understanding of the indispensable role of the Communist Party were reflected in the results after the Congress of the Scottish local elections, with the election of three Communist councillors alongside a general advance in the position of Labour. Building on these initial successes, the Communist Party will devote its entire strength in the coming period to the fight for the policy of the 23rd Congress, the policy which can unite the Labour movement and save Britain.

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WAR OR PEACE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

GORDON SCHAFFER

MR. ANEURIN BEVAN told a meeting of his constituents that he resigned from the Executive of the Parliamentary Labour Party because 'he wanted to make it quite clear we were not prepared for a single British soldier to risk his life for French Imperialism in Indo-China.' But to whom was Mr. Aneurin Bevan addressing his protest? Not to the government, for resignation from the Parliamentary Committee would have no effect on Sir Winston Churchill. Clearly, Mr. Bevan was protesting because he believed the Labour Party leaders were prepared in certain circumstances to commit Britain to France's 'dirty war'. After his resignation, the National Executive of the Party declared against intervention and because that victory had been achieved Mr. Harold Wilson changed his mind and accepted Mr. Bevan's vacant seat.

But where does the Labour leadership stand in face of the latest United States' manœuvres to spread the war? *Fact,* the official Labour Party journal, provides disconcerting evidence on this point. The journal admits frankly that Bao Dai collaborated with the Japanese militarists while Ho Chi Minh led the resistance. It agrees that when British troops under the orders of a Labour government went to Indo-China in 1945, they restored 'law and order' by handing control back to the French authorities. Then it explains that the establishment of a Communist-led China created a new situation and that 'a victory for Ho Chi Minh with Chinese aid over the French and Bao Dai's supporters would be a triumph for Communism in South-East Asia.' To prove that Ho Chi Minh is 'not simply an anti-colonial leader' it declares that organisations in Viet Minh are linked with the World Federation of Trade Unions and the World Federation of Democratic Youth. That was what the Tory government said about the elected government of British Guiana. Finally *Fact* declares that a local victory for Ho Chi Minh 'would immediately threaten the security of Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia, and eventually the India sub-continent.' Then after expressing hopes for an agreement at Geneva it says: 'The West cannot achieve a decisive local military success with the forces she can at present dispose in Indo-China.'

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That is the whole case for intervention against the People's movements in Asia now being put forward in the U.S. Mr. Dulles and Sir Winston Churchill have hardly gone further than that. This is the coalition in foreign affairs in action, and the significance of Mr. Bevan's protest is that he has challenged the coalition.

It is worth recording here a speech made in the United States Senate by Democratic Senator Ed. Johnson on April 26, a speech ignored by the newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic. After referring to a private party of Senators at which Vice-President Nixon 'whooped it up for war in Indo-China', Senator Johnson went on to say:

> Forces are at work to get this nation committed to war in Asia. Some of these forces we know to be our enemies. Unfortunately there seems to be no articulate force in America determined to keep us out of war. . . . This war has been going on for nearly eight years. . . . At what point and to what degree has this war which every record shows to have been a war against Imperialism suddenly become a war of Communist aggression? Asia is in revolution against colonisation. The promulgation of what we in America believe are the inalienable rights of every man and the right to walk as equals with dignity in the world community is sweeping Asia. . . . The only way to combat an idea is with a better idea. What better idea is being advanced by our sending tanks to slaughter the people of Indo-China? Have we so completely abandoned the principles of freedom? What kind of people have we become?*

Strange that in witch-hunt ridden America, a voice of honesty should be raised when the leadership of the British Labour movement is silent.

American spokesmen make no secret of why they tried to secure intervention in Indo-China, and why they are now seeking an agreement which would drag their allies into war if any other part of Asia seeks liberation from colonial rule. Their whole Far Eastern set-up is threatened. Mr. Walter Judd, described by the *Observer* as 'one of the most powerful members of the United States Foreign Affairs Committee' said as much when he declared that 'unless Communist China is returned to the free world, Japan will be lost.' (*Observer*, March 28.) Mr. S. Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, told a private dinner party given to selected journalists in Washington:

> The Korean question is the key to all American policy in the Far East. . . . Peace in Korea would have serious consequences for America.

*I am indebted for this report to I. F. Stone's Weekly, May 3. Mr. Stone who is denied employment by the millionaire press is doing a fine job giving the news the newspapers refuse to publish.

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It would result in pressure for the admission of China to the United Nations, would undermine Anzus (the United States sponsored Pacific Alliance with Australia and New Zealand) and would lead to increased pressure in Japan for the abandonment of the United States' military bases.

(*Tribune de Nations,* Paris, March 5, 1954.)

The rearmament of Japan and the United States-Japanese Alliance is the key to America's policy in the Far East, just as the rearmament of Western Germany and the United States-West German Alliance is the basis of her policy in Europe. It is a policy clearly stated by Mr. Dulles when he threatened war if any country adopted 'by whatever means' a system of government which Washington regards as 'Communist.'

Mr. Herbert Morrison's signature of the Japanese Peace Treaty (imposed by the U.S.A. without consultation with India or China and designed to ensure U.S. bases in Japan) meant the sacrifice of the principles of the Labour movement in Asia, just as Mr. Ernest Bevin's acceptance of West German rearmament meant the betrayal of Labour's principles in Europe. There you have the connecting thread between the revolt in the Labour movement, the discussions at Geneva, and the frantic attempts by the U.S. to drag her unwilling allies into the Indo-China war. If the Labour movement breaks the coalition policy, and repudiates its shameful part in the war against the Malayan people, the danger of war in the Far East will be lifted. For America will not dare to 'go it alone', and the French people will take courage from Britain. Paradoxically enough, the United States' hydrogen bomb explosion has speeded the struggle. From the moment the bomb and its radio-active ash alerted the world to the peril in which it stood, America was left without an ally. No nation which threatens to use the hydrogen bomb in a world where both sides possess weapons of annihilation, can possibly have allies. It can only have unwilling satellites who will seek every opportunity to escape. In this struggle, the progressive forces in Britain are not alone. The movement in Japan against the American alliance has become nation-wide. The most influential Japanese delegation since the war is due to attend the next meeting of the World Peace Council in Berlin. India is showing the Western world what can be achieved by courageous statesmanship. And even in America the China Lobby is becoming isolated. The exposure of the U.S. war plan has revealed the desperate peril facing mankind but it has shown the growing strength of the forces of peace. The British Labour movement, exerting its growing power on the side of peace at this critical moment will ensure the defeat of those who plan war.

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THE WORLD OF MR. ATTLEE

D. N. PRITT, Q.C.

THIS autobiography,* looked at superficially, could be written off as an unimportant and rather dreary little book of a rather modest little man who happened to lead the Labour Party for 20 years, to be a war-time Deputy Prime Minister, and to be Prime Minister for nearly six years. There could be no greater mistake. The man is not modest, and not little; his book may be dreary, largely because it passes over in silence almost everything he ought to explain, answer, or defend; no book can be unimportant that is written in 1953-54 by a man who so recently held such high office, who is head of a powerful opposition in the House of Commons, and who at any rate until a few weeks ago had to be regarded as bound to resume office as Prime Minister when the Tories are next defeated.

It is true that the book tells us practically nothing that is not already publicly known, and that it passes over innumerable points and problems which call so urgently for his explanations and defences. That does not, however, make it unimportant—even if it helps to make it dreary—for there are a great many lessons, both particular in relation to Attlee and general for the whole movement, to be drawn from his very silences.

Let us first consider what is in the book. Its 23 short chapters cover 217 pages. They start with tepid and unemotional accounts of the writer's origins, birth, upbringing, and—quite insistently—of his public school and Oxford days, both of which made a great impression on him; and his subsequent personal life takes up a good part of the rest of the book. Every cliché in the English language (except one, as Sir Winston Churchill is said to have remarked in an unpublished description of Mr. Eden's oratorical style) finds its place in the course of giving a picture of a thoroughly 'nice' middle-class Englishman, possessed of one eccentricity in that he found his way almost by accident into what he claims to be a full understanding of working-class life and of Socialism; but he never loses that maddening sub-conscious paternal attitude to the working class, and never convinces one of his Socialism. There are pages of trivial chatter, of smugness, of little reminiscences of the clever answers he gave or statements he made on this or that occasion; and there is

*_As it Happened_, by C. R. Attlee (Heinemann, 16s.).

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little, either in style or in feeling, that could not just as well have figured in the autobiography of a moderate Tory, or of a missionary who finished up as archbishop. When he comes to periods where he was in direct touch with great events, he becomes reticent but scarcely less trivial. The 1924 government, the Zinoviev letter, the General Strike, the 1929 government, the Macdonald betrayal (which, he says, came as a complete surprise—one would have thought everyone within range of the government had seen it coming for months), are treated not merely with extravagant reticence but with a trivial detachment.

Events during the war are handled equally carefully and neutrally, as are those of the great electoral victory of 1945, and the six years that followed. (The victory itself is described flatly, without the slightest hint that it was a great moment and a great opportunity, or any glimpse of the high hopes that filled the rank and file of the Labour Party, and a good many other people too; and it is followed immediately by a little domestic chapter entitled 'Family Life'.) There are not many further points in the actual contents of the book that need mention. They include a good deal of praise for various Tory leaders, including Baldwin and Churchill—and for Smuts too; and much extravagant eulogy of the Royal Family, which could well have been written in the Press Bureau of Buckingham Palace. (Sample: 'George V . . . shared to the full the life of his people'.) Even Jimmy Thomas is admired for the 'dignity' he displayed when leaving the House of Commons after being found out.

The other very important feature is the open display of malignant hatred of the Soviet Union and of Communism, accompanied by a pretty deep ignorance of both. It is noticeable that this double hatred, today a normal characteristic of Right-Wing Labour leaders, was not nearly so well-developed in Attlee in 1937, when (after a visit to the Soviet Union in 1936, on which he spoke of that country in terms of warm admiration) he wrote his book *The Labour Party in Perspective*. In that book he wrote both of the Soviet Union and of Communism, occasionally in a friendly fashion—he used, for example, the then fashionable and only slightly patronising phrase of approval, 'the great experiment'; and at the worst he expressed much milder and less general disapproval than he shows in his autobiography.

There, in 1953, even as early as p. 13, when expressing his undergraduate Schwärmerei for Oxford, he looks ahead to the future in

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which the 'civilisation enshrined in Oxford was to be assailed by the barbarians—Hitler and Stalin'; this gratuitous and vulgar little boost to the third World War is scarcely helpful, coming from one who must be supposed to want to become Prime Minister again, in a period when public pressure is certain to compel whatever government we have to negotiate with the U.S.S.R. for the maintenance of peace.

That, in bare outline, is everything of any significance that is to be found in the book; but no one, as I have hinted, should be content to treat it as unimportant on that basis. A man who has headed a government, and still heads a party which may have to select a Prime Minister again in a short time, might well find it wise not to write an autobiography at all; but if he writes one he has no moral right to write a sectional or a limited book; he should either be wholly silent, or speak frankly. We are entitled surely to an apologia, an apology, or a plea of guilty for his main acts and policies; and we should reject a mere combination of evasion and tea-table chatter. But the book has been written and published, and we must all judge it, and far more the important writer of it, by a study both of what he writes and what he omits; and we must assume that what he omits is omitted deliberately because it is inconvenient or impossible to tell it, however urgently—for the sake of our country and our future—we need to know it.

So now let us examine the far more important part of the book, the part that is not there. We would expect to find, in such a book, the writer's explanations of innumerable actions and policies, particularly since 1945, that at first sight seem not merely anti-socialist but inexplicable; we want, if we possibly can, to have enough narrative to help us to see how the mind of a leader works when he is perpetrating what seems to so many to be 'the greatest betrayal in history' (to borrow from his description, in the book, of Ramsay Macdonald). And we want, still more, to see what general lessons and conclusions we can draw from the whole story, firstly, as to the fitness or unfitness of Attlee—and of his associates too—to govern our country as Socialists, to lead us on the road to Socialism, or even to lead any Socialist party or movement; and, secondly, as to what the Labour movement should now do to secure and advance its own future.

To develop and justify these comments, I must table some examples both of the major and minor actions and policies for which Attlee has been responsible; must examine such accounts and ex-

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planations as he does give of them; and—more often—must record his failure to give any explanation at all, and see what inferences can fairly be drawn from such failure.

The major actions and policies which spring to mind as calling for explanation amount almost to a catalogue. Let me state the more outstanding ones:—

1. Why, when the Labour Party and government came into power in 1945, with immense opportunities, did it not take a bold Socialist line? Why did it not ally itself with the Socialist and near Socialist states of Eastern Europe, and give a moral progressive lead to the whole of Europe? Why, instead, did it make an alliance—and moreover a purely satellite alliance—with the congested, unstable, and bitterly anti-Socialist Capitalism of the U.S.A.? (Why, to put it another way, did it make itself a part of 'Western democracy'—an alias for dying capitalism—instead of an independent progressive force, building actively towards Socialism which, as Attlee was at such pains to demonstrate in *The Labour Party in Perspective,* is quite inconsistent with Capitalism?)

2. Why did it continue untouched the foreign policy of the Tory Party and the Foreign Office, complete with the same ambassadors —even Halifax and Duff Cooper—and Foreign Office staff?

3. Why did it accept and adopt the atom bomb policy, the hideous thrusting of our country into the target areas by the American establishment of atom bomb bases, the vast re-armament against the U.S.S.R., and the re-armament of Western Germany?

4. Why, in connection with its policy of nationalisation, did it confine itself to so small an area of big industry, and nationalise on such terms as practically to silence Tory opposition?

5. Why did it take a purely imperialist line on all Colonial questions?

6. Why, in sum, did it betray everything for which it stood, leaving class relations, capitalist power, and working-class conditions scarcely altered in its five years of full power and six of government? Why did it, indeed, make so little move towards Socialism that even the hysterical lunatics of Washington and Wisconsin never smeared it as Red?

7. Why, as and when all these betrayals caused Labour Party conferences— either through formidable minorities or by actual majorities—to express the increasing resentment of the rank and file and its broad demands for different and more Socialist policies, did Attlee and his colleagues treat such conferences not as something to be respected and obeyed but rather as something to be 'Shep-

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herded', bamboozled, or cajoled, and in the last resort to be simply ignored, thus reducing the democracy of which Attlee incessantly boasts to a system under which the leaders first do what they want to do (or what they are forced by their overlords to do) and then invent a series of excuses with which to persuade the rank and file to accept the *crime accompli?*

Those are, I trust, fair samples of the major actions and policies of which we seek for an explanation. Let me now list some of the minor ones:—

8. Is it correct, as Forrestal in his diaries relates (see *Labour Monthly* for January, 1953, p. 37) that in June, 1948, the U.S. government decided to ask, and did ask, for atom-bomb bases in Britain; and that Bevin (the one Labour politician whom Attlee in this book praises as warmly as he praises the Royal Family) accepted instantly?

9. If this colossal additional peril was laid on the shoulders of the British people by the clay-footed Bevin, presumably with the assent of Attlee, how did Attlee manage to sanction an official statement to the effect that the American atom-bombers were coming to this country 'for a short period of temporary duty, as part of the normal long-range flight training programme instituted over a year ago'? And how did he allow his Air Minister to welcome our atomic occupants with a speech to the effect that 'peacetime visits *and exchanges* between the U.S.A.F. and the R.A.F. were developing naturally on a broad basis of goodwill, comradeship, and common interest' (*common,* of course, between a Capitalist anti-Socialist country seeking bases for the destruction of the great Socialist country, and a country ruled by a Labour Government claiming to be marching towards Socialism)?

10. Did Attlee, as Forrestal says (*Labour Monthly,* as above, p. 38), tell him that 'there was no division in the British public mind about the use of the atomic bomb—they were for its use'? If so, who are the imbecile experts who told Attlee that untruth, and what punishment have they received? Or, if he thought so off his own bat, what is his defence for such a base and foolish depreciation of his own countrymen?

11. Why, when Attlee was forming his government in 1945, did he suddenly switch Dalton out of the Foreign Office and put the notoriously anti-Soviet Bevin in his place? What is his answer to the common accusations that this was done on the advice of Churchill or of King George VI?

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The only answers, express or implied, we can find in the book to these eleven sample questions, are the following:—

1. There is no express answer to all the questions as to why the Labour Government in 1945 did not take a Socialist line, and choose Socialist friends instead of Capitalist bosses. There is a clear implied answer, of course, in the incessant anti-Soviet preaching which pervades the book; for this in truth made it impossible for Attlee to do anything but betray Socialism. If one seeks to find an answer by seeing what the Attlee of 1953 has to say about the Attlee of 1937 who wrote *The Labour Party in Perspective,* a book in which he preaches a mild but quite clear form of Socialism, and in particular a more or less specific anti-imperialism, one is amazed to discover the bald statement in the autobiography that 'In 1945' (*sic*) 'I had the pleasure of seeing that programme implemented', ('that programme' being the programme which he had set out in *The Labour Party in Perspective* as the one 'which I thought a Labour government in power should carry out'). At one point of the autobiography, he even claims that 'a peaceful revolution has taken place'.

2. There is no answer to the question about the continuity or continuation of Tory foreign policy, except the implied one to be derived, as before, from Attlee's anti-Soviet obsession. But it is amusing that he records—without, let us hope, understanding the significance of it—that when Ernest Bevin left the Foreign Office he received a testimonial from 'several thousands of the staff of the Foreign service, from Ambassadors to messengers'; the Foreign Office is a corporation so tough and realistic in its steel-clad reaction that no one could hope for such a testimonial unless he had proved himself a 100 per cent. steel-clad reactionary and supporter of Foreign Office policy.

3. There is no answer about the atom-bomb and U.S.A. occupation policy, or the re-armament policies of Britain and Western Germany, beyond the anti-Soviet obsession already mentioned, except that he attributes British re-armament to 'North Korean aggression'—unaware, among other difficulties, of the recent sensational admissions of the South Koreans as to their having started the Korean war themselves! But he has the courage—or the lack of prudence—to quote a speech of his own in Parliament in 1936 to the effect that 'we shall never agree to piling up armaments and following a policy either of imperialism or of alliances'.

4. There is no justification of the limited scope and the generous terms of the Labour Party nationalisations, nor any defence of the

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departure from the *Perspective* policy of owning or controlling all main industries. All that he does is to record that there was no real opposition from the Tories. This he attributes to a change 'in the mental climate of the Tory party' and to a Tory realisation of the verdict of the electors, instead of to the obvious fact that the nationalisation of most of the first-chosen industries was obviously profitable to the Tories.

5. The imperialist line on the colonies—a striking contrast to *The Labour Party in Perspective*—is equally unexplained, indeed almost undiscussed. To offset the many imperialist observations with which the book is sown, there is just one page of platitudinous goodwill to cover the whole of the years of post-war Labour government; and the only mention of Malaya is that 'one must expect a fairly rapid development . . . when the present troubles are over'. (Attlee does, however, quote Smuts to the effect that 'British imperialism died with the Boer War', and adds: 'I believe this to be true', which makes one wonder why he had devoted so much space in *The Labour Party in Perspective* to attacking something which had then been—so he says—dead for 36 years.)

6. The summary questions set out under paragraph 6 above do not even receive a summary answer.

7. As for the opposition of Labour Party conferences, there is no mention whatever of any such distressing topic. There is not even a mention of any conference since Labour took power, except that the 1950 Party Conference approved the Policy Statement 'Labour Believes in Britain'; (which unfortunately helped to prove, in the Autumn of that year, that Britain did not sufficiently believe in Attlee's Labour). And the 1951 Scarborough Conference gets two lines.

8, 9, and 10. On the atom-bomb bases, and all the decisions and observations attributed to him in that connection, Attlee remains wholly silent; but he trots out the now rather stale Americanism that 'the immense forces of Russia, which threatened to give her complete power in Europe, were held in check by this terrible weapon in the hands of the West'.

11. On the Dalton-Bevin switch, he admits that it happened, but gives no explanation. What he writes is so typical of his fashion of saying nothing that it deserves quotation: 'It is already known that I hesitated for some hours as to whether Bevin or Dalton should take the Exchequer or the Foreign Office. *Various reasons* impelled me to my final decision.'

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It will be seen, even from these few samples, how important the book is to all who want to form a judgment on Attlee or on the Labour government—and in particular on the question whether, in the present magnificently developing temper and tempo of the movement, the person he is thus revealed to be could ever be allowed to be Prime Minister again. But the book and its analysis really raise a far wider question. Can individuals, or a group, ever be entrusted with office or leadership if they have the defects exhibited here? Can basically anti-Soviet or imperialist people, or people who habitually disregard or ignore the views and demands of the rank and file, be trusted to lead a Labour Party? And, if they could be trusted to try to do so, are they not mentally and psychologically incapable of succeeding? The answer is, I say, No to both questions. And the conclusion is: Let them go!

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

MAY DAY IN BERLIN, 1929

The events of the First of May and of the following days in Berlin are of great importance in the development of the class struggle of the German—indeed, of the world working class. . . . What actually happened on that day? Through the mouth of their social-democratic acolyte, Police-President Zörgiebel, the German capitalists forbade the Berlin workers to demonstrate in the streets on May Day. . . . In spite of Zörgiebel's prohibition, Berlin workers appeared on the streets of Berlin on May 1. And what did Zörgiebel, that eminent representative of the democratic ideals of social democracy do? He allowed the demonstrating, unarmed workers to be grossly and brutally mishandled by his police, and when the demonstrators objected, they were shot, their houses fired on, and the streets, the centres of Communist influence, Wedding and Neukölln, occupied by armoured cars and artillery. The police used all the latest appliances of military technique, tanks, aeroplanes, searchlights, to restore order in the affected districts. This was the revenge of German social democracy on the Berlin workers for their losses in the factory council elections. . . . Twenty-four dead, several hundreds wounded, thousands mishandled—this was the sacrifice made by the heroic Berlin workers during the May days.

From *Sharpening Class War in Germany*, by Wilhelm Pieck, June, 1929.

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Document of the Month

EIGHT-PARTIES MANIFESTO

WE, the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of countries within the sphere of British Imperialism, meeting together in London on April 21-23, 1954, proclaim our unanimous determination to strengthen the alliance and co-operation of our peoples in the cause of peace and national independence.

From Malaya and Vietnam in the Far East, throughout the countries of the Middle East, in the whole continent of Africa, and in the Caribbean colonies, the mighty upsurge of the colonial and dependent peoples and their liberation movement is advancing on a world scale.

India's millions are marching forward in struggle for final liberation from the remaining chains of British imperialism and against the penetration of United States imperialism. Inspired by strong bonds of friendship with the victorious Soviet and Chinese peoples, their desire for peace and complete national independence has become a powerful force in world affairs. The growing influence of the Communist Party was expressed in the 1952 General Election, and the recent election in Travancore-Cochin. The programme of the Communist Party of India and its perspective of a People's Democratic Republic charts the way forward for the Indian people.

In Pakistan, intended by the imperialists as a war base and bastion of reaction, the mass movement for liberation is growing rapidly, as shown in the recent elections in East Pakistan.

In Britain the significant advance of the progressive fight in the Labour Movement reveals that the British people are moving into action to end the domination of Toryism and its right-wing Labour allies, to restore their national independence from surrender to American dictation, and to carry forward the fight for peace, better living conditions and socialism.

In Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the people are stirring against American domination and the surrender to the war drive.

The inspiring example of the triumphant advance of the countries in the camp of democracy, peace and socialism, headed by the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, increases every day the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of the whole world. The great triumphs of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, particularly its liberation of the former Tsarist colonies and their raising to a high level of culture and prosperity, the victory of the Chinese People's Republic, and the rapid advance of the People's Democracies in Eastern Europe, give new strength to the world fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

In their desperation there is no limit to the crimes and brutal outrages which the imperialists are today committing to maintain their hated rule. To bolster up their crumbling economic fabric and continue to extract maximum profits, they intensify without mercy the exploitation of the colonial and dependent peoples. To pay for the consequent colonial wars and gigantic armaments, they impose new burdens, not only on the colonial and dependent peoples, but also on the working people of Britain and the older Dominions. American imperialism, at the head of the world

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imperialist camp, has drawn the British imperialist rulers into its war alliance as its guilty accomplices and satellites. This alliance of American imperialism and its British imperialist associates threatens every people in the world. Armaments are multiplied. Armed bases are established in every continent. The use of atomic and hydrogen bomb weapons is openly threatened.

Against this reactionary alliance we call for a powerful alliance of all the people within the sphere of British imperialism for peace and national liberation. Such an alliance of our peoples can set itself the immediate objectives: —

First, to end the present shameful colonial wars in Malaya and in Kenya.

Second, to ensure mutual support and assistance in the daily battle for higher living standards and democratic rights.

Third, to unite for the aim of national independence and self-determination of all our peoples and to secure the withdrawal of troops from all the territories dominated by British imperialism.

Fourth, and above all, to unite in the fight for peace against the menace of a new world war.

The great tasks of such an alliance of the peoples urgently requires a strengthening of the Communist and Workers' Parties, the vanguard of the working class, the class which must stand at the head of the peoples if their struggles both now and in the future are to achieve lasting success.

In Britain the Communist Party has a special responsibility to intensify its efforts in arousing the people to understand the crimes which are being committed in their name by their imperialist rulers. They need to draw the widest sections of the Labour Movement and the peoples into common action with the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples.

There is urgent need in the colonial and semi-colonial countries to go forward to the formation and strengthening of Communist or Workers' Parties based on Marxism-Leninism, with firm roots in the working class, and among the peasantry, and striving to build the broadest united national front of the peoples for liberation from imperialism.

The alliance of the peoples of all our countries in successfully struggling for the urgent immediate needs of the moment, would at the same time open the way for the final liberation of all the peoples exploited and oppressed by British imperialism. It would end the existing Empire relations of exploitation and domination and replace them by a new, voluntary, fraternal association of free and equal peoples, based on national independence and self-determination. Such an association would render mutual aid and assistance to one another in the common aim of achieving an ever-extending advance of the material, social and cultural wellbeing of our countries and peoples.

This glorious prospect inspires us in the supreme struggles of today.

Forward in the fight for peace and national liberation!

Build the mighty alliance of our peoples against the reactionary alliance of American and British imperialism!

Long live the friendship and co-operation of our peoples!

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Book Reviews

PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT

The British Political System, by John Gollan (192 pp. Lawrence & Wishart. *7s. 6d.* paper, *10s. 6d.* cloth).

Government and Parliament, by Herbert Morrison (364 pp. Oxford University Press. *21s.*).

TWO new books, both purporting to cover the same subject, provide a most illuminating contrast. In *The British Political System*, Mr. John Gollan gets to grips with the fundamental question of who really rules Britain. It is this question—the only one that really matters—which Mr. Herbert Morrison's book *Government and Parliament* is deliberately designed to obscure.

Morrison's book is largely confined to the mechanics of the subject—rather like Citrine's *A.B.C. of Chairmanship*, but with a good deal less practical value. For Citrine's work has after all served as a useful guide to tens of thousands of trade union branch chairmen, whereas the proportion of the population who will ever make use of Morrison's tips on how to behave at a Cabinet meeting must indeed be small. Yet the tips abound throughout. For example, a Minister 'should not be overlong' in stating his case to the Cabinet or 'he will bore and annoy his colleagues'. And again, he should not go too often to the Cabinet to solve his difficulties or he will 'give an impression of weakness and of fear of responsibility.' It is all rather like the lectures Mr. Morrison used to deliver to newly elected Labour Councillors, many of whom may have wondered on such occasions why the important things for which they thought they had been elected had somehow given place to quite other aims—such as *efficient administration, capable government, businesslike methods, well-conducted committees, sensible procedure*, etc. And all for what? Apparently for doing much the same things as one's Tory predecessors had done—the point was to do them more *efficiently*.

Is not this the clue to Morrison's present book? For many decades the British ruling class has been able to make use of the British parliamentary system to keep capitalism firmly in the saddle. In this the two capitalist parties—Tory and Liberal—have played a decisive part. The implication behind Morrison's book is that Labour can play the same game, only more *efficiently*. With increased State intervention and a little judicious economic planning, capitalism can actually be improved. And this in turn involves streamlining the Parliamentary and State machine. 'What I think I can fairly claim,' says Morrison, 'is that we much improved the planning and examination of legislation by the Government and that we showed that Parliament was capable of a materially increased legislative output.' The result? After six years of a Labour Government capitalism is as firmly in the saddle as ever.

Mr. Morrison's outlook bears little relation to the aspirations of the vast majority of Labour Party members. But their wishes can be flouted by a Labour Government and Morrison explains some of the reasons why. In the first place the Labour Party does not control the Labour M.P.s once they have been elected. 'Neither the Party Executive nor the Party Conference claims the right to instruct a Labour Government while it is in office. Nor is there anything in the Party Constitution giving the Conference or the Executive power to instruct the

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Parliamentary Labour Party when in opposition.' In the second place, the Labour M.P.s do not control a Labour Cabinet. 'Neither party in power would, however, accept the view that its parliamentary party could instruct or control the Cabinet. . . . It would be unconstitutional, injurious to good government, and likely to lead to ill-thought-out decisions being foisted upon the Government to admit the right of the party to instruct Ministers or to receive premature details in advance of Cabinet decisions'. The Cabinet dictates to the M.P.s—if the latter rebel it involves defeating the Government in the House and facing a general election. This, as Mr. Morrison makes clear, is usually an effective deterrent to Parliamentary revolt. Illuminating passages such as those quoted above are rare in this book, however. Purporting to be a 'survey from the inside' most of it might be likened to the detailed description of a motor-car engine. With his head well inside the bonnet Mr. Morrison tells us at length and very self-importantly what the pistons look like as they go up and down. But the driver of the car, the source of the petrol, the direction in which the car is travelling—all these are outside the range of vision.

Luckily we do not have to depend on Mr. Morrison for this vital information: Mr. John Gollan uncovers for us precisely those realities which Morrison would seek to hide. For Gollan shows step by step, and with a wealth of factual evidence, how Parliament and the whole machinery of the State from top to bottom is in reality in the hands of the big trusts, how this traditional constitutional machinery has been evolved by the ruling class for the protection of capitalism, and how the whole aim of the ruling class has been to catch up the working class movement and its representatives in this constitutional net.

The ruling class could not have done this without the help of what Gollan calls 'Her Majesty's Socialists'. Is this too harsh a term? On the contrary, Morrison himself dubs the Monarchy a 'success' which 'deserves the support and respect which it undoubtedly receives from the people'. It is left to Gollan to tear up the theory that the Monarchy is politically neutral, and to expose its role as an instrument of class collaboration. Again Morrison believes that 'the very irrationality of the composition of the House of Lords and its quaintness are safeguards for our modern British Democracy'. It is Gollan who shows how this reactionary House of Obstruction is retained as a reserve weapon to be used should the Tories suffer decisive political defeat.

Gollan reveals that the leading civil servants, praised by Morrison for their 'meritorious loyalty', are in fact rigidly conservative in outlook, and makes clear why the Civil Service as at present constituted could never be a reliable instrument in the hands of a Government determined to carry out far-reaching social change. He asserts that 'today the Foreign Service is by far the most conservative and reactionary of all government departments' and proceeds to prove the assertion with a detailed analysis of its personnel. Moreover he directs attention to the sinister activities of the Secret Service and the various British Intelligence agencies abroad suggesting that 'it is an open question whether this type of activity has not replaced the old-fashioned diplomacy as the main function of the Foreign Office.' In other chapters on the Police, the Armed Forces and the Law, Gollan

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demolishes with fact after fact any illusions that the reader may have about the political 'neutrality' of the British State machine.

During the Labour Government's term of office and since, many in the Labour Movement have suffered from disappointment and frustration. They will find in Gollan's book many of the answers to their problems. For it not only analyses the root causes of much of this frustration, it shows how Parliament can and must be transformed into an instrument of people's democratic rule as part of the forward march to Socialism in Britain.

KATHERINE HOOD

NEW THOUGHTS ON SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

Science and Industry in the Nineteenth Century, by J. D. Bernal. (230 pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. *12s. 6d.*)

WE are not so many years away from the nineteenth century when the impact of science on society was more far reaching than in any previous period; but it was a period when man had not yet worked out the manner in which he would consciously use together the two complementary weapons he was fashioning for his greater economic power—the more advanced techniques of production and his advances in scientific knowledge.

Bernal has done pioneer work in uncovering the relationships between them which have led to the present highly social organisation of research and development dependent on industrial and governmental support. In today's atmosphere many scientists, lacking historical perspective, find it difficult to grasp the unco-ordinated and amateur character of nineteenth century science. Then there was little formal teaching and research laboratories backed by adequate funds did not exist. Conversely, many intelligent non-scientific people still think of science as the product of individual efforts of men of genius; they fail to recognise the devastating power now wielded by research organisations (often dependent on governmental funds for military development) which can determine how the scientist shall think and mould him in consequence to adopt political theories and ideologies favourable to the ruling class.

Bernal's main purpose in what he himself admits only to be an exploratory study is to take four examples illustrative of the interaction of the physical sciences with industry and so to provide a not too detailed historical account of the general mechanism of how this took place. In taking his samples from developments in the fields of heat, energy, microbes and ferments, steel and electric light and power, the very richness and variety of the events he records present an impression of confusion. But Bernal's contribution lies in his ability to show behind this not only the form of the interaction of science and technique but also their dependence on social and economic factors. It is true, for example, as he says, that a new era of electricity began in 1800 resulting in the discovery of Oersted in 1820 of the effect of electricity on the magnet, this link being completed eleven years later by Faraday's discovery of the complementary effect of the generation of electricity by a moving magnet. It is true also that no new general principle entered into electromagnetism in the rest of the century. But, although technically there was no real obstacle to the application of Faraday's generator to the production of power in the

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thirties the electricity supply industry that we know today did not come into existence until the eighties.

The barrier, or absence of stimulus, to advance during these 50 years was economic! It was not until the eighties that electricity became a commodity. But once having started, the main essentials of the production and distribution of electricity were in use at the end of a further 20 years. Bernal's major contribution is his ability to bring out the contrast between early slow and late rapid development as a general phenomenon in the application of science to industry; and the driving force behind the unevenness in the rate of movement in the different sectors of science and industry as lying in the enormously increased market in the 19th century for industrial products (as their costs and prices fell and the profits on them increased). If he then gives a suggestion that the free competition of the early part of the century tended to give way to price rings, cartels and monopolies with the most rapidly advancing fields of technique concentrated in the purview of the financially strong great telegraph companies, chemical companies, steel companies and armament firms, we are prepared to appreciate the nature of the new forces which have led to the development of governmental and industrial research laboratories where science is organised and directed to particular ends and where the labour employed is a new class of professional worker functioning in a fundamentally different atmosphere from the individual, often undisciplined, investigator of the 19th century.

The book contains a second essay: the story turning round the discovery of Pasteur's original notebooks

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which throw new light on the mental processes leading to his discovery of the asymmetry of molecules.

W. C. STEVENS

THE TRUE ROAD

The Tyrants' Might is Passing, by Wm. Gallacher. (104 pp. Lawrence & Wishart. *3s. 6d.*).

AFTER the betrayal by MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas in 1931, Dr. Dalton wrote that 'It is easy to put most of the blame for what was done or not done on the three men who occupied key positions in the Government . . . but all of us, I feel, must take some responsibility. . . . We should have kicked up more row, been less loyal to leaders and more loyal to principles.'

William Gallacher, Chairman of the British Communist Party, and former M.P. for West Fife has written another book, titled *The Tyrants' Might is Passing* and which is essential reading for all who are concerned to ensure that the principles upon which the Labour movement was founded are upheld. The extent to which the attempt has been made to undermine and subvert the movement is brought home in a most comprehensive and forceful fashion by William Gallacher in this book. The period covered is the last three years since the General Election of 1950. The Right Wing Labour leaders have turned the whole weight of the powerful Labour Party machine towards suppressing working-class activity instead of encouraging it. Parallel with the bans and proscriptions there has been, and still is, pumped into the working - class movement, policies, ideas and argumentation, all of which is designed to secure acceptance of immediate policy which damps down the struggle against the tories and capitalists, and fundamentally accepts capitalism as permanent and unchangeable. Drawing from his great fund of experiences, and his knowledge of Marxism, scientific socialism, William Gallacher deals in his inimitable manner with the principal 'ideas', 'policies' and proposals advanced to get the working class to enter into an accommodation with capitalism. He deals with such issues as the anti-Communist 'sabotage' scares; the subordination of Britain to American imperialism; the Labour Party and peace; the great movement in the colonial countries for liberation and independence; the B.B.C. and religion, and Moral Rearmament.

An outstanding impression of William Gallacher gained by all who have known and associated with him, as well as from his speeches and pamphlets, is his humanity. This book breathes in every page his deep and abiding concern for men and women, young and old alike. He shatters illusions old and new, but he does more than demolish the enemy defences. Confidently he points out the road to be followed, as he calls it, 'The Road to Life'. 'We must turn our movement back on to the true road, the road that leads to socialism, the road that leads to lasting peace, to a better and brighter life for all.' This is a book to be placed in the hands of all men and women who are groping for the way forward for the Labour movement. It is a book that would be invaluable for the young people and every effort made to place it before them will speed the passing of the tyrants' might.

WILLIAM LAUCHLAN

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back those classic Last Words—'it can't happen here!'

He Just Showed 'Em

READERS are armed with first-class articles in the last number and in this; a chance to sound the alarm among neighbours and workmates who have not yet been alerted. Here are some glimpses of a few of the readers who have been campaigning this year:

South Wales. A miner wants six more copies in future. Why? 'O, I just showed the blokes my copy and asked 'em: "Don't you think you'd find it useful?" And they did.'

Midlands. 'Both got their copies, thanks, and now buy it regularly from the local bookshop. Everybody in the shop I work in is very keen; here's two more names, people I meet at the trades council. Send them copies direct before the next meeting and I'll see them then.'

London. 'One of my New Year resolutions was to get 10 new readers. So far I've only got three; if you could send specimen copies to these two, I will follow them up and be half way to achieving my objective.'

Midlands. 'All of them are active, progressive-minded trade unionists; for the past four months they have been the backbone of a very active local group. More to come shortly.'

London. 'He had just moved in from down the line. I could see he was the right stuff—a quiet, thinking young chap. But I found he was an *L.M.* reader already. Disappointing! Now I've got to look for another.'

Midlands. 'If you could send one to these two, I'll give them a couple of days and then go and follow them up to clinch it.'

Lancashire. 'In my branch we are selling 20 as against 8 last year, and even then there is still room for improvement.'

Yorkshire. 'These four L.P. friends ought to have the April and May numbers, for *The Bomb* and the article on Geneva are so excellent to follow the April Notes. Could you send them at once?'

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